

## Audience Hails George Novack, One of Healy's Targets

Workers  
Party

## London Rally Condemns Healyite Frame-up Campaign

By Jim Atkinson

LONDON—About 1,150 socialists packed a public meeting held here January 14, to express solidarity with Joseph Hansen and George Novack, the two veteran leaders of the American Socialist Workers party (SWP) who have been made victims of a twenty-one month frame-up campaign by the Workers Revolutionary party (WRP), a declining British ultraleft sect led by Gerry Healy.

In an effort to divert the WRP ranks and the satellite groups in his crumbling "International Committee" from considering the political roots of the impasse they have now reached, the Healyite leaders have campaigned against Hansen and Novack, often on a daily basis, accusing them of "criminal negligence" in Trotsky's assassination and of being "accomplices of the GPU," the Kremlin's secret police. These slanders have been refuted in detail by the victims and condemned by a wide range of tendencies on both the British and the international left.

The January 14 meeting showed that the WRP's frame-up campaign has succeeded merely in increasing the sect's isolation and disrepute in the left-wing movement.

The rally was a memorable occasion, bringing together on the same platform—despite political differences on certain questions—some of the leading figures of world Trotskyism: George Novack; Ernest Mandel, a leader of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International; Pierre Lambert, a leader of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) of France and the Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (OCRFI); and Tim Wohlforth, a member of the SWP National Committee who, until 1974, had been secretary of the Workers League, the American Healyite group.

Tariq Ali, a member of the Political Committee of the International Marxist Group (IMG), the British section of the Fourth International, chaired the meeting. In opening the meeting, he explained that the speakers were there to express their "solidarity with those who have been made the victims of the most horrendous slanders we have seen in the Trotskyist movement for a long, long time."

Draped across the front of the hall was a large, red banner with the slogan "For Workers' Democracy, Against Frame-Ups and Slanders."

In addition to the speakers, several other veteran militants were seated on the stage of the auditorium to demonstrate their condemnation of Healy's slanders. They

included Betty Hamilton, a founding member of the WRP's predecessor, the Socialist Labour League, and of the International Committee in 1953, who has been active in the revolutionary Marxist movement for more than fifty years; Harry Wicks, a founder of the British Trotskyist movement who has been an active socialist since the twenties; and Tamara Deutscher, the companion of the late Isaac Deutscher, the author of the well-known biography of Leon Trotsky.

Michel Pablo, a leader of the International Revolutionary Marxist Tendency, who had been scheduled to speak, was unable to attend. He sent a message of solidarity which was read to the audience.

Expressions of solidarity were sent by numerous individuals and groups on the left, including the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation; the International Marxist Group; the League for Socialist Action; the *Bulletin* group; the British Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International; and six members of the editorial board of the prestigious Marxist bimonthly *New Left Review*.

Interestingly, Healy himself decided to attend, too, making an apparently staged entry shortly after Ali had opened the meeting, "to listen to himself being anathematised for two hours," as Colin Cross remarked in a front-page story on the meeting published in the January 16 issue of the *Observer*. Cross noted that "Mr Healy sat pink-faced, grim-jawed and expressionless." Around him was a small group of WRP members.

The first to take the microphone was Tim Wohlforth. He began by rebutting Healy's contention that an international commission of inquiry ought to be set up to hear his charges against Hansen and Novack—two militants whose lifelong devotion to the workers' movement was sufficient repudiation of Healy's vile slanders. "The only kind of inquiry that we need, really need, is an inquiry into how it can be that an organization which began and started out in the struggle against Stalinism, in the struggle for Trotskyism, has ended up going over to the methods of Stalinism."

The WRP's slanders did not affect Hansen and Novack alone, Wohlforth stressed. The blows of the WRP, he said, "are directed against, not this or that individual, but against Trotskyism."

Wohlforth went on to describe his personal experiences with Healy while secretary of the Workers League, explain-

ing how Healy had used the device of a manufactured spy scare in 1974 to prevent criticism of emerging policies inside the League and to drive him and Nancy Fields out of the League's Central Committee.

Later that year, Wohlforth went on, Healy expelled Alan Thornett and 200 other members of the WRP just before a WRP conference. With the expulsion of the Thornett group, Wohlforth noted, Healy lost the bulk of the WRP's working-class cadres. "Because they just couldn't carry the absurdities of the line of the WRP into the living struggles of the workers in the factories. And they suggested that they discuss it... and then they got out, chucked out before a conference."

Wohlforth explained that Healy could not cope politically with the growth of the Fourth International or the crisis facing the WRP and the International Committee. To wall off his dwindling number of supporters from the influence of critical ideas, Wohlforth said, Healy saw no alternative but to label his opponents as spies and cops.

Wohlforth stressed that Healy's spy-scare methods did nothing to defend the security of the Trotskyist movement. By contrast, he said, the SWP had struck a blow for the whole working class internationally by launching its path-breaking lawsuit against the FBI and the CIA. Unlike the WRP, the SWP had thereby demonstrated in practice its real concern for the security of the workers movement from spies and infiltrators.

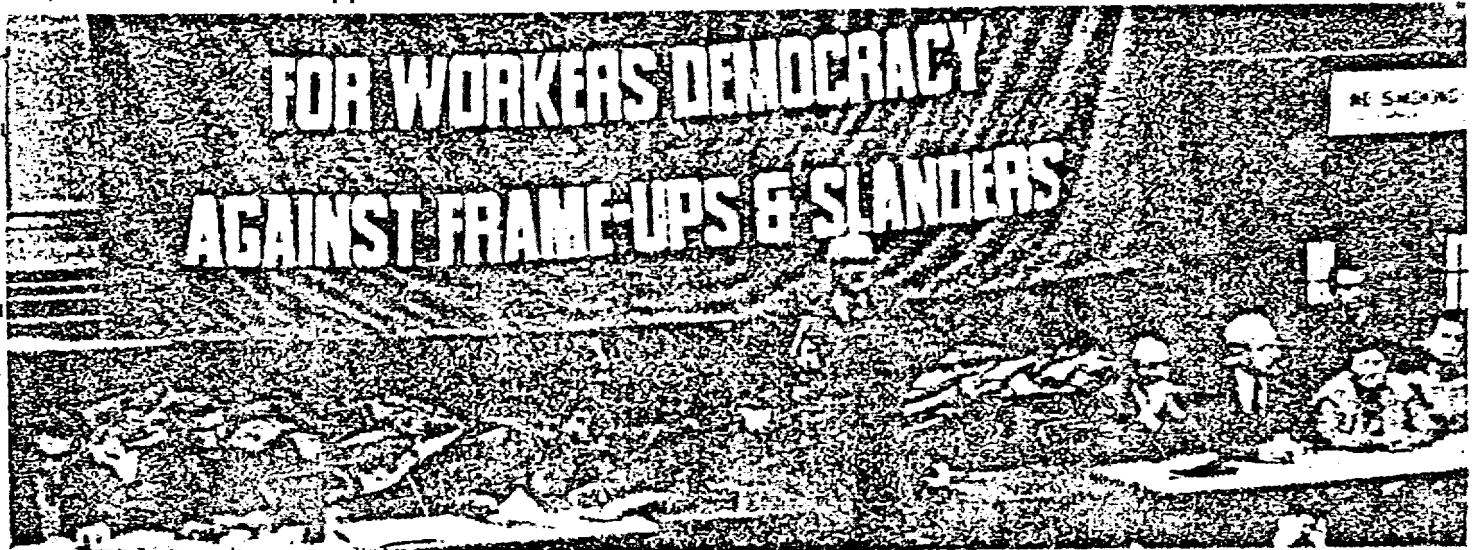
Wohlforth concluded by saying that his participation as a speaker at the rally was "the proudest moment in my life."

Lambert followed up Wohlforth by saying that Healy's campaign discredited Trotskyism and played into the hands of the ruling class and the Stalinists. "Gerry Healy and Marxism have very little in common," he said.

Lambert told the audience that Healy's methods were akin to those used by Stalin. Had Healy forgotten, Lambert asked, that the Left Opposition was founded to defend workers democracy? Did Healy not remember that the privileged, counterrevolutionary caste seized power in the Soviet Union by crushing workers democracy?

In Lambert's opinion, Healy's use of lies and amalgams to frame up political opponents gave succour to the Kremlin at a time when it is challenged by a new opposition fighting for workers democracy in the Soviet Union.

Loud and prolonged applause greeted



Skip Ball/Intercontinental Press

George Novack at podium of London meeting January 14. Others on platform included in photo are (from left to right) Ernest Mandel,

Tim Wohlforth, Tariq Ali, a translator, Pierre Lambert, Betty Hamilton, and Tamara Deutscher.

Novack as he rose to speak. Novack started by explaining the role he had played forty years ago, as national secretary of the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, to get Trotsky out of house arrest in Norway to political asylum in Mexico, and in the Dewey Commission, which successfully exposed Stalin's frame-ups before world public opinion. But, Novack said, his record as a militant in the struggle against Stalinism went back even further than that. The first article he had written for the *Militant*, the American Trotskyist paper, in 1934, had polemicalised against the zig-zags of Stalinist policy.

Novack described the technique of the big lie which Healy had used against him and Hansen. You let loose a lie, he said, blow it up to incredible proportions, reiterate it ceaselessly and hope that gullible people without access to the truth will swallow it whole.

Slander, Novack said, was a weapon of all kinds of reactionaries. Kerensky, for example, had used it to brand Lenin and Trotsky as agents of German imperialism. Now Healy had, he said, "descended into the sewer of slander." Having fought against frame-ups for almost half a century, Novack said he detested them as "the worst sort of moral abomination."

Like Wohlforth, Novack contrasted Healy's slanderous campaign with the work done by the SWP to expose the activities of the CIA and the FBI. This, he told the crowd, had succeeded in forcing the courts to order the FBI to halt its surveillance of the American Trotskyist movement and withdraw its agents from the SWP.

Novack made a special plea to supporters of Healy in the audience. Have you ever wondered, he asked, how it is that large numbers of workers

Union and China accept the lies fed to them by their governments as the truth?

Healy's frame-up, he told them, lacked even the semblance of plausibility. How could it be, he asked, that American Trotskyists could have led a double life for nearly forty years with nothing whatever to gain?

Mandel, speaking on behalf of the United Secretariat of the Fourth International, opened his speech by stressing that the meeting had not been called to defend Hansen and Novack. They did not need to be defended, he said, against that "little rascal," Healy. It was the Fourth International that was under attack from Healy's antics, he said. Healy's absurd spy scares and slanders were discrediting Trotskyism and even boomeranged against his own organization, so long as the WRP—"for reasons which are unclear"—still calls itself Trotskyist.

Healy aped the methods of Stalin and Hitler, Mandel said. But, if the Fourth International was not defeated by Stalin and Hitler, it would not be stopped by a "tin-pot tyrant like Gerry Healy."

Mandel said that Healy's slanders came at a time when the Fourth International was sinking stronger roots than ever in the class struggle throughout the world. In Peru, he said, fifteen trade unions had protested the police murder of a Trotskyist student in November. Labour MPs, he went on, had been obliged to demand the release of Tariq Ali, who had recently been detained in Pakistan.

In France, Mandel said, the OCI had played a major part in the campaign which finally forced the Soviet bureaucracy to release Leonid Plyushch. And in Spain, five factories had gone on strike when the police arrested more than 150 Spanish Trotskyists a few weeks ago. The

said, that the regime was forced to rapidly free them. "It is at the moment of this big historical turn, when we have become recognized and accepted as a genuine part of the working class in the international working-class movement," Mandel said, pointing towards Healy, "that such a fool comes around and says No! Start to look for agents under your bed because they have agents everywhere. . . ."

Mandel concluded by stressing that the Fourth International would not reciprocate the sectarianism of the WRP. A mass revolutionary international, he said, will include people from many political backgrounds. Militants from the WRP who broke with Healy's foul methods could play their part too.

At the end of Mandel's speech, Healy rose from his seat, waving a handbill, while WRP members yelled that he be allowed to speak. Ali, reiterating points he had made at the beginning of the meeting, explained that the rally was a demonstration of solidarity with the victims of Healy's frame-up, not a debate with its author. Ali then moved a resolution that no further discussion be taken. This was overwhelmingly carried.

Healy's dead-end factionalism was epitomized, perhaps, as the rally ended with the audience rising to sing the "Internationale." The scene was aptly described by *Red Weekly*, the IMG paper, in its January 20 issue:

"WRP members raised their fists and sang. Then a glare from Healy sent their fists wavering, their voices faltering. All around him WRP members fell silent. Only in the balcony, immune from the baleful glare of the 'wizard of Clapham High Street,' did they continue to sing the anthem of working class solidarity which their leader has so long defiled." □

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## Ernest Mandel . . .

Comrades, why are we here tonight? We are not here tonight to defend Comrade George Novack and Comrade Joseph Hansen, because friends and comrades like these two who have been active in the revolutionary movement and devoted to Trotskyism for forty years do not need to be defended against vile slander.

The *News Line* of January 1, 1977, tells us why we are here—why all of you are here. We are here “with the express intention of protecting the GPU.” Not even with the objective intention, with the *express* intention. All the people sitting here: Here are 1,500 defenders of the GPU—that’s why we are here.

If he wasn’t such a little rascal, one could feel sorry for Comrade Gerry Healy for saying such stupid things that immediately boomerang against himself. One could be sorry for him, to see how he has been caught in the objective dialectics of a little sectarian bureaucrat who absolutely subordinates the interests of the working class, the interests of the world revolution, the interests of socialism [applause], to the interests of an inefficient, inaccurate, and meaningless little sect which has talked itself out of the class struggle in Britain and internationally. I say one could feel sorry for him, because he has, after all, devoted his life to building that revolutionary movement, and when he has to cover up his failures with lies and slanders, one could feel sorry for him, I repeat, if he wasn’t such a little rascal.

One must see the logic of this business which he has set in motion: first calling one person an agent of the Soviet police, then calling 1,000 persons agents of the police, then reducing the class struggle to police infiltration and operations of agents. Because in this very same article, you find unbelievable things. You find that we are all here together, not in order to participate in the class struggle . . . the class struggle of whom?—the class struggle of the workers of Europe and Latin America against the infiltration of the CIA! The class struggle is not any more conducted against the capitalist class; the class struggle is not any more conducted between social forces—No! the class struggle is now all against agents and infiltrators!

I tell you, anybody who would have told Comrade Healy ten years ago that he would fall to that Stalinist depth of reducing the class struggle to a struggle against spies and agents, anybody who would have told that to Healy ten years ago would have received the answer which he would have merited.

And you can only feel sorry for people who have so little control over their own development, who know so little about what is happening to themselves that by the accumulation of the logic of sectarian mistakes they can degenerate and fall so deeply as to deform and desecrate Marxism in the way in which Healy is doing today. So I say we are here neither to defend Comrades Hansen and Novack, nor to defend the GPU; it’s too stupid to discuss that.

No. We are here to defend the Fourth International. To show solidarity with Comrade Hansen and Comrade Novack. We are here to defend the Fourth International. And it needs to be defended, against the slanders of Healy, because we have to understand what this fool has done. Again I say “this fool,” because this boomerangs against himself and his own organization as long as he continues—for reasons which are unclear—to call himself a Trotskyist.

What have been the allegations of our main enemies for years and decades against the Fourth International, against the world Trotskyist movement? It has been that ours is a movement infiltrated and manipulated by agents and by spies. That was the main thesis of Stalinism, that was the main thesis of the Soviet bureaucracy—that the Trotskyist movement is not a genuine part

of the international working class; is not a genuine part of the international labor movement, but a movement manipulated by spies and by infiltrators. And what has been the main thesis of international imperialism, what has been the main thesis of the bourgeoisie? Look at the *Congressional Record* in the United States, look at the press campaigns of the bourgeoisie against the Fourth International: They say that it is a movement manipulated by terrorist agents, infiltrators, and spies. And for years, and for decades, as long as our movement was weak, as long as our voice was weak, and our enemies spoke with very powerful material force, in a united voice, many people believed these slanders. Many people believed them, including many people inside the working class.

Today, things have changed. Today, we are much stronger, and our enemies are much weaker and much more divided than before. And especially, today, we are deeply rooted in the working class, we are deeply rooted in the toiling and fighting masses in so many countries that nobody can believe this type of business any more.

And it is at such a moment, it is at the moment of this big historical turn, when we have become recognized and accepted as a genuine part of the working class in the international working-class movement, that such a fool comes around and says, No! Start to look for agents under your bed because they have agents everywhere under your bed. And he says this hall is full of agents—you can read it in his newspaper—agents of the GPU and agents of the CIA are sitting here and rubbing shoulders with each other, and that it is here like that, and it is in every cell meeting like that, and it’s in every national meeting like that. That’s what this fool is saying—giving aid and comfort to all the slanders and all the attacks which for such a long period have been conducted against our movement.

I say, what Hitler and Stalin couldn’t get away with—when these mass murderers couldn’t destroy our movement, a tin-pot tyrant like Gerry Healy is not going to destroy us or stop us in the building of the Fourth International [applause].

Why is it not possible to have any serious group of workers in the world today accept that we are a movement full of agents, full of spies, full of infiltrators, manipulated by outside forces? Because people, as I said before, thanks to our principled activity, thanks to our activities in the service of the working class and in the service of the revolution, know us now, and they know us by the thousands, and they know what we are, and nobody is going to tell them anything else than what they themselves know in the living class struggle of the different countries.

I’ll just take a few examples from the last weeks to show what

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the Fourth International, approved for release 2005/01/13 CIA-RDP88-01315R000400450006-6  
international working class, and how the international labor movement looks upon the Fourth International.

A young comrade of ours, hardly twenty years old, was arrested in Peru, brutally tortured, and murdered by the police. Fifteen trade unions—fifteen trade unions—spoke out within twenty-four hours in his defense. Do you think you will convince the Peruvian workers that the Trotskyist movement is a movement infiltrated and manipulated by agents of the GPU, and of the CIA, when they see and do such things?

In Pakistan, Comrade Tariq Ali, who is sitting here, was prevented from leaving the country. Immediately there was a telegram sent, of MPs of the British labor movement; there was a movement started in France by leaders of the labor movement to force President Bhutto to get Comrade Tariq out of that prison in Pakistan, and he got out.

We have had in France—I must give the due to whom we have to give the due—a powerful mobilization of left working-class forces in which the comrades of the OCI have played an excellent, an exemplary, role: to get one of the representatives of the left-wing opposition in the Soviet Union—not Solzhenitsyn, not the reactionaries, not the semifascists, but a representative of the left-wing opposition in the Soviet Union, Comrade Plyushch, out of the grasp of the Soviet bureaucracy. And we got him out! [Applause.]

And the most important, and most inspiring example of all, four weeks ago 154 comrades of the Basque conference of our Spanish organization were arrested at the end of their meeting. Within twenty-four hours, five factories went on strike to get these comrades out. In this united action about every single one of the working-class organizations of the Basque country was represented, and we got every single one of the 154 comrades out before the week was over! *That's the Fourth International today!* [Applause.]

Do you think that slandering our movement, slandering the leaders of our movement, slandering the public representatives of our movement, is going to stop this business which is the business of the rise of a new revolutionary vanguard, which is the business of building a revolutionary party, which expresses objectively the rise of world revolution today? You think you're going to stop us by slandering? You are just a fool when you think so! Look at this meeting, and look at the reality of the Fourth International today, and you will see what results you will get: zero point zero!

"One must see the logic of this business which he has set in motion: first calling one person an agent of the Soviet police, then calling 1,000 persons agents of the police, then reducing the class struggle to police infiltration and operations of agents."

And why couldn't you stop us, and why can't you stop us, and why can nobody stop us, on that road? Because we have followed a very simple, a very consistent, and a very, very, very difficult way, in which we have had to build our movement against terrible odds. But that's the only road which will repay in the long run. We have followed the road of just sticking to confidence in the working class; confidence in the class struggle; participating in the class struggle, participating in mass action, educating our members and educating the working class in relentless and irreconcilable struggle against every form of exploitation and oppression in the world. That's what the program of socialism is all about, that's what the program of Marxism is all about, and that's what is indestructible.

When you have a correct program, when you follow the line of that program, when you tell the truth to the workers, when you don't hide anything from them, when you don't use slanders,

when you don't use false accusations, when you don't see spies where there are social forces in operation, then in the long run you must win, inasmuch as you have confidence that the working class will continue to fight, that world revolution will continue to rise, that capitalism is unavoidably crisis-ridden and will be overthrown, that the Soviet bureaucracy and all other conservative forces inside the labor movement cannot stop this movement of history in the long run. By striking out along this line, we could resist, successfully, I repeat, terrible odds—because the slanders of Stalin, and the murders committed by Stalin and Hitler, were far graver than the slanders of Thomas Gerald Healy. We could resist them, and we could transmit the heritage to a new generation—a new generation that is today ten times stronger in numbers than the older ones, in which Healy, myself, and all the people who are sitting on this platform participated. That was a united Trotskyist movement. But a united Trotskyist movement which was, I repeat, ten times weaker in number, and immeasurably weaker in influence and in activity than the Fourth International is today.

By sticking to this principled line, by sticking to this simple line, by not looking for some miracle solution, by not looking for some shortcuts, by not trying to do more than you can do with the forces which you have, but by doing whatever you can with these forces on the basis of your program, and on the basis of the unfolding class struggle, we have come out of that tunnel, and today we have a movement much stronger, much more influential, in a better position and much more capable of gaining results through our intervention in the class struggle than we ever had before. And we will continue to build the Fourth International, and we will continue to build revolutionary parties by that method because that's the only method which gives results in the long run. And we are dedicated—we dedicate our members and we dedicate the vanguard of the working class—to that method. That means a method which fights with politics, which fights with the weapons of the class struggle, and not of science fiction or of the spy scare; which fights not with witch-hunts but by means of the working-class struggle, mass struggle—that's the weapon with which to build the revolutionary party; and that's also our weapon against imperialism and against the Soviet bureaucracy.

And I would add: we should keep our sense of proportion, as Comrade Tariq said when he opened this meeting. We should use that method towards the Workers Revolutionary party, too. We should not be sectarian against the sectarians. It's meaningless and it would be worthless to our own cause. We should understand that whatever be the madness that inspires their present slanderous course, at the slightest sign they would show, at the slightest sign we could force them to show, to return to reason, we would treat them like we have to treat every other tendency of the revolutionary left, every other tendency of the revolutionary wing of the international labor movement, as potential allies, and potential members today in big mass revolutionary parties which we want to build, and for which many, many participants will have to come from many, many different political tendency and factional origins [applause].

And when I say we have to keep our sense of proportion, and we have to apply the same classical methods of working-class policy, of working-class tactics and of working-class strategy, to all the problems that concern us this evening, we have to understand that in the fight against Stalinism at this stage, at this peculiar, particular stage, which is an extremely important stage, especially in Western Europe, we have today exceptionally powerful weapons to conduct a political campaign, to which I invite all comrades present here, of all different tendencies, factions, and organizations, to participate and come together to conduct this fight.

Whatever one may think about all the intricacies of so-called Euro-Communism, of which we are of course no friends whatsoever, no apologists—which we don't cover up—it is a new stage in the reformist degeneration of these parties, preparation for the deeply counterrevolutionary role of these parties in the coming

stand one thing, in addition to all these aspects—that they have introduced new and tremendously vulnerable elements of division inside the world Stalinist movement, which can today have very big effects in favor of Trotskyism.

And I would therefore propose to the tendencies, factions, and organizations which are present: Let us conduct a common political campaign, to ask from the Italian Communist party, from the French Communist party, from the Spanish Communist party, from the Belgian Communist party, from the British Communist party, that they immediately, openly and publicly, rehabilitate all the victims of Stalin, all the victims of the Moscow Trials, and that the Spanish Communist party in particular draw the logical conclusion from this rehabilitation and immediately expel the vile murderer of Leon Trotsky from its ranks [applause]. Such a propaganda campaign today will perhaps not uncover some secret spy device which caused the assassination of 1940, but is instead a political campaign which will hit the Soviet bureaucracy, which will hit international Stalinism ten thousand times more deeply, more profoundly than any of these spy inquiries. And it is especially a political campaign which will have an effect in the working class of France, in the working class of Italy, in the working class of Spain, in the working class of Portugal, which will make it easier to fight class collaboration and betrayal of the revolutions which are mounting there; which will widen the scope of workers democracy in the unions and the factories of these countries, which will make it easier for the revolutionaries in these countries—and there are already thousands of them—to fight against what remains of the poison of Stalinism today in the working-class movement, in the Communist parties, and in the trade-union organizations of these countries.

*That is a fight worthy of Trotskyism, that is a fight worthy of the Fourth International, that is a fight which is in the great tradition of revolutionary Marxism, for which we stand in the great tradition of defense of workers democracy, which we must defend relentlessly, unconditionally, and without reservation if we are to be principled in every country, in every case, and against everybody who questions them [prolonged applause, foot-stamping, etc.].*

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## Tim Wohlforth . . .

In my opinion, the only kind of inquiry that we need, really need, is an inquiry into how it can be that an organization which began and started out in the struggle against Stalinism, in the struggle for Trotskyism, has ended up going over to the methods of Stalinism. Healy, like Stalin, has now started on a path of slander and fabrication for which there is no end.

It began with Hansen, and then Novack. Now, in one of the latest issues of the *News Line*, Cannon is brought in. In connection with Sylvia Caldwell, it is stated: "It only means that Cannon knew of the cover-up and that he was in on it for reasons which have still to be discovered."

And thus James P. Cannon has come, in the eyes of the Workers Revolutionary party and Healy, to be one of the "accomplices." But it won't even stop there. There even is a suggestion that perhaps Trotsky should be added to this list. After all, it was Trotsky who came to the defense of Sheldon Harte, who was murdered by the Stalinists after their first raid on Trotsky. It was Trotsky's judgment on Sheldon Harte.

Now Healy's organization says that Sheldon Harte was a Stalinist agent. Obviously, therefore, it was *Trotsky* who was covering up for the GPU!

The only conclusion that we can come to is that the eyes of the Workers Revolutionary party and its followers are directed against, and its blows are directed against, not this or that individual, but against Trotskyism. And what we do ain't Stalinism [applause]!

Now, I'm going to try to make a contribution to the question of an inquiry into why this madness—and it is madness—has taken place. And I'm going to do it by speaking about what I know most about, and hoping to add that contribution. There are other comrades here who know Comrade Novack and know Comrade Hansen for more years than I have.

So what I will speak on is something I do know about, and I certainly do know Comrade Healy. And I've had some experiences with him. And in fact those experiences were the beginnings, in many ways, of the slander campaign.

It began back in the summer of 1974. We were having some difficulties in the Workers League—losing some members, having some problems. And Healy decided to take this up. Now, it wasn't

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unusual that we had these difficulties. Because after all we were trying to do in America what he wanted us to do. And for that very reason we had problems. But that could not be objectively looked at. It could not be objectively stated that perhaps we made mistakes, and so did he. And perhaps we were doing things, and so was he doing things that were wrong and should be corrected. Instead, a campaign had to be launched, specifically against myself as national secretary.

But it was not enough to launch a campaign against me to criticize my policies; something new had to be added. One of our leading comrades in that period was Comrade Nancy Fields. As Healy knew, and others knew, Nancy Fields was personally associated with me. What better way to get at me than to attack her, because that's the way he functions and thinks. Lo and behold, it was discovered—the startling fact, known by many in the party—that Nancy Fields' uncle had worked for the CIA, had retired from that position in 1960; that when Nancy was young, her uncle had helped her through school for a certain period. It was also known that she broke with her uncle; that she had to work her way through college, taking full-time courses at Columbia University and holding down a full-time job. And as many of you here who have done that know, barely having money and time to eat; walking to college in New York City, two miles because she didn't have the subway fare; in order to work her own way because she was going to stand on her own feet, and she wasn't going to take money from anyone who was going to dictate to her. As many of you probably have done in your lives.

So this fact was brought up. But it wasn't simply brought up; it was spread around—on the eve of our summer camp it was privately spread around. Comrade Slaughter was sent over to check the security of the camp. You see, since Nancy Fields was already in Healy's mind a CIA agent, there was a grave danger that Comrade Healy might not survive the trip. James Bond. He might be shot when he arrived. So Comrade Slaughter had call up London every day to inform Healy that security was OK, and that he could perhaps come across the ocean and risk it.

But of course Comrade Slaughter could not use the phone at the camp, because that would be tapped. So he had to use a phone off the camp. So Comrade Slaughter asked a comrade to drive him to and from the phone so he could assure Comrade Healy that everything was all right with the CIA. So Comrade Slaughter asked Comrade Nancy Fields to do the driving! The supposed CIA agent [laughter]!

And that's the truth. That's the farce of these methods. Because this has nothing to do with it—there was a political motivation all along.

Then one night, midnight, because when else should one call Central Committee meetings, comrades? Especially if you're in a camp in the woods, in a camp in the Laurentian Mountains of Canada, always hold your Central Committee meetings no earlier than 12:30 a.m. It creates the proper atmosphere—for the inquiry.

And the slanders were launched against Fields that had already been spread around the camp, so forty or fifty people were told that she was CIA. And of course, later we will investigate. What is that? Have we ever had that in our movement? You slander first, you have your Control Commission later. Where? When? Because it's the same methods that he uses now in his public slanders against comrades Hansen and Novack.

I got up in the middle of the meeting and said I disagreed with the proceedings. Which was the hardest thing that I have ever said in my life because of the atmosphere. And yet, and any of you here who have ever been in the Socialist Labour League could understand this, and yet I ended up, as those who have been in the Socialist Labour League have done and still do, I ended up voting against my convictions!

I voted for my own removal; Nancy Fields voted for her own suspension. And then, two minutes out of that meeting, we went back to our cabin with Comrade Slaughter and we told him we disagreed with the way we voted. We just could not say it in front of such a meeting in such an atmosphere. And we spent the whole night talking.

Now, we thought about it afterwards. I did not immediately leave the organization. I went to work every day. Nancy couldn't, because she was suspended. So she spent her time reading James P. Cannon. She read *Speeches to the Party*; she read *The Struggle for a Proletarian Party*; she read *In Defense of Marxism*. She read Cannon. And then I come walking home, through the door, and she starts bombarding me with Cannon; she says this is the way Cannon says a party is supposed to be. This is what they did; it's not right.

And she was right. And I came to agree with her. And we resigned. After we resigned, after we had been slandered, after we

“[Healy] is seeking to develop a theory that anyone outside of his organization who criticizes him must be a cop. And anyone inside his organization who raises a doubt or a question must be a cop. He did not originate that theory. Stalin thought the same; or whether he thought the same, he said the same.”

had been removed from these positions, then an inquiry commission was held, which then said that it wasn't true! That Nancy Fields wasn't a CIA agent—after the damage had been done and the leadership of the section removed.

Now, then we spent a month or two isolated, because we had no other friends but those in the movement. We knew no one, no one knocked on the door, no phone calls, complete isolation. And we thought and we thought, and then we wrote what we thought. And we sent what we wrote to all the papers on the left. And one of them, *Intercontinental Press*, printed it. And Comrade Joe Hansen wrote that he thought what we said sounded like the truth. And Comrade Healy then began his slander campaign against Hansen.

Comrade Novack then wrote that what Healy said about Hansen was slander. And then Comrade Novack became an accomplice of the GPU in the eyes of Healy.

And then we learned that in England, unknown to us, actually learned a month or two after it happened, that 200 members of the Workers Revolutionary party had been expelled—the Thornett group, what is now the Workers Socialist League. And we thought this was significant—it was not just us, it was throughout the world. And it was not just anyone in the Workers Revolutionary party that was expelled, it was the working-class comrades in that party who were expelled. Because they just couldn't carry the absurdities of the line of the WRP into the living struggles of the workers in the factories.

And they suggested that they discuss it, that they discuss the Transitional Program. And they perhaps got further than anyone else who has suggested a discussion in Healy's movement—they got a bulletin out that got to some Central Committee members, and then they got out, chucked out before a conference.

And we said this meant something: it's political. He's using these slanders for political purposes. He is seeking to develop a theory that anyone outside of his organization who criticizes him must be a cop. And anyone inside his organization who raises a doubt or a question must be a cop. He did not originate that theory. Stalin thought the same; or whether he thought the same, he said the same. Opposition to his policies meant that you were police. And he applied it to Trotsky. This was his theory.

And it appeared to us that what was really happening was that, confronted with a new situation which required, which opened up new possibilities for Trotskyism all over the world, Healy had collapsed. He had no policy. He didn't know what to do. He couldn't do anything. And in that collapse was seeking to guard himself off, was seeking to defend his little organization, to

protect it from criticism internally and externally, through the spreading of slanders, through frame-ups, through fabrications, and putting every resource he could get to that purpose. This was to us the meaning of what was happening.

So whatever is—because at times the question is raised in people's minds—whatever is the personal mental condition of the comrade involved in this, and those of us who have known him realize that that condition has never been overly stable—we are really dealing with a *political* madness, and that's what we must confront.

And like in any madness, including political madness, madness comes from the inability to confront reality. And thus the necessity to create a different reality in one's head. And the reality which he could not confront is the growth and the vitality of the Fourth International, the turn all over the world of people toward Trotskyism in this new period of upsurge of the working class. We do not and we cannot accept the point that Healy in any fashion is seriously seeking to grapple with the problem, the real problem, of the role of the cops and the police in our movement. Because his blows are against the movement, not against the police. And we contrast his method to the method of the Socialist Workers party, which has done more than any other organization on earth to expose the FBI [applause], to expose the CIA [applause].

This struck me so much just this Wednesday when Comrade George Novack and I held a press conference to release CIA documents that we have been able to get through our lawsuit, which showed the role of the CIA and what it tried to do to the Fourth International, to all its sections.

The daily *News Line* sent Alex Mitchell to the press conference. *He did not raise one issue* in relation to the CIA—he was not interested in it. All he did at the press conference was to press his factional attack on Novack and Hansen. Can you tell me honestly those people are concerned with security? They are concerned with the security of their clique, not with the security of the working class against the capitalists [applause]!

I just want to end on one point. Being on this platform, taking this stand with these comrades, yes, these comrades, is the proudest moment in my life. Thank you [applause].



## George Novack . . .

Forty years ago last month, Leon Trotsky was under internment by the Norwegian Labor government, gagged and unable to answer the infamous accusations Stalin's henchmen were hurling at him. On the other side of the ocean, his American cothinkers had formed the American Committee for the Defense of Leon Trotsky, of which I was national secretary. We sought to secure asylum for the Soviet exile, and constitute a commission of inquiry to give Trotsky his day in court to refute the charges in the Moscow frame-up trials.

Both aims were realized. Trotsky and Natalia were sprung from house arrest and shuffled aboard a Norwegian tanker headed for Mexico. By chance, a while ago, I came across a letter I had written to the novelist James T. Farrell on December 4, 1936, recounting our efforts. Here are several passages from it: "As to Trotsky's condition, we get cables from Europe of the most alarming character to the effect that almost anything might happen to him after December 18, and that a visa for some other country is our only hope. . . ." I told about failures of our attempts to get visas for the United States or Cuba, and the hurdles encountered in Mexico where President Cárdenas was agreeable to his entry. Diego Rivera had telegraphed us: "Foreign Affairs Minister is making all kind difficulties, Stalinist agents and counterrevolutionaries helping him."

These obstacles were overcome, and I vividly remember how excitedly Max Shachtman and I telephoned Oslo and informed the ill-fated Walter Held, whose life I later tried vainly to save, that the Mexican invitation had come through. We met the Trotskys when they landed in Tampico early in January, and, on the presidential train the day after, discussed plans for launching the commission of inquiry. In April, under John Dewey's chairmanship, the commission went to Coyoacán and in September delivered its verdict that branded the trials as frame-ups and completely exonerated Trotsky and his son Sedov of the charges against them. Trotsky hailed this as a "magnificent achievement." Our concern for his security was unrelenting from then on.

Comrades, that was forty years ago—and much water—not all of it clean—has flowed under Westminster Bridge since that time. The speakers tonight have come together to protest and expose another frame-up, in which Joe Hansen and I are cast, not as defenders of the accused, but as the accused themselves. Though it is on a smaller scale, this case belongs to the same category of political slander, and must be repelled as vigorously because of the issues of principle at stake.

The allegations against us by Healy's poison-penmen are so outrageous that their effrontery verges on the absurd. In this instance, as has already been commented, Healy has borrowed from the arsenals of Stalin and the Maoists, who crudely set about to discredit and destroy factional opponents who only yesterday were their closest associates. You let loose a lie, inflate it to monstrous proportions, reiterate it incessantly in all keys, and hope that gullible and ignorant people with no access to the facts in the case will swallow it whole. On January 4, Healy spokesman M. Banda brazenly declared to us, "None of you have been able to refute a single fact brought to light by the International Committee's investigation." Actually, the allegations in Healy's Big Lie, that Hansen and Novack are accomplices of the GPU and guilty of "criminal negligence" in Trotsky's assassination, have been refuted point by point in articles appearing in *Intercontin-*

*tal Press* and publications in other countries. These have just been collected in a single brochure, entitled *Healy's Big Lie*, which can be consulted for the relevant information. I shall not go over the same ground, but intend to speak for and about myself tonight.

During my last extended stay in England, from late 1951 to early 1953, I was as intimate a collaborator with Healy as I have been with Joe Hansen since 1941. We met for political discussions three or four times a week, and articles I wrote occasionally appeared under his name [laughter]. That's a time-honored custom for foreigners residing in England. Engels, you will recall, submitted a review of Marx's *Capital* in the liberal *Fortnightly Review* under the signature of his friend Samuel Moore.

I got to know Healy's strengths and weaknesses quite well. Though he has a suspicious disposition [laughter], it would never then have occurred to him that I had anything whatsoever to do with Stalinism or its works—and he would have indignantly rebutted any such calumny.

His attitude changed from comradeship to rabid hostility after sharp differences developed between the Socialist Workers party and the unified Fourth International and his own organization. In the ensuing polemics he singled out three adversaries for especially venomous attack: Ernest Mandel in economics; Joseph Hansen in the sphere of politics and organization; and myself in philosophy.

He is rather inept and uncomfortable in discussions of Marxist theory with qualified critics. So he was eventually driven to employ the most unworthy means of coping with his political opponents. He descended into the sewer of slander, where he could throw the most noxious muck at us.

That is the background of his Stalinist-type campaign. Slander has played a considerable role in political life, as a weapon wielded by reactionary forces of many kinds against their adversaries. Many a union militant can testify to that. In the Russian revolution, Kerensky's regime accused Lenin, Trotsky, and the Bolsheviks of being German agents.

In the chapter of his *History of the Russian Revolution* captioned "The Month of the Great Slander," Trotsky pointed out how poor and monotonous a character political slander has, because of the conservative mentality of its authors. So it is with Healy's unoriginal and repetitive lies. They not only imitate the more notorious frame-up artists before him, but they do not vary from month to month as his press keeps harping on the same set of falsifications.

I was pulled into the scenario only after coming to the defense of the first target, Joe Hansen, as I was duty bound to do out of concern for the truth and for the sake of solidarity with my colleague. I detest frame-ups, not only because they are unjust, although that's an adequate reason, but as the worst sort of moral abomination. I have fought against scores of frame-ups for almost half a century, beginning with the cases in the United States of Tom Mooney and the Scottsboro Nine in the early thirties, and coming up to the present moment, when the Socialist Workers party is so effectively uncovering the machinations of the FBI and CIA.

However, I never expected that a former associate would defame me in connection with the defense of Trotsky, which constitutes one of the proudest actions of a long political career devoted to the advocacy of his ideas in defiance of the Stalinist slander machine. The first article I wrote for the *Militant*, early in 1934, was a

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satirical criticism of the zigzags in Stalinist policy, and there are volumes on record since then.

What a contrast there is, comrades and friends, between Healy's obsessive charges, and the attitude of the grief-stricken Natalia Trotsky at the time of Trotsky's assassination! She never afterwards uttered a word of reproach about the guards. More than that, listen to this: Natalia even gave a deposition to the Mexican police absolving the unfortunate woman comrade who had unwittingly been the tool of the assassin from any complicity in the crime. That's Trotskyism.

Let me cite a sample of Healy's technique. Stalin extorted false confessions from the Moscow Trial defendants in his dungeons by means of terrible threats and tortments. Though the wizard of Clapham High Street has no such means at his command (so far as I know), that does not deter him. He has contrived to twist our answers to his accusations into admissions of guilt.

Thus, in my statement of condemnation I mentioned that I had helped rescue prospective victims of the Nazis after the fall of France, by enabling them to get to the United States as I had earlier brought the Trotskys to Mexico. I worked with a group of people of diversified political opinions, including Menshevik emigrés, and they, among numerous other refugees, found asylum for Marc Zborowski, Leon Sedov's secretary and collaborator on the *Bulletin of the Russian Opposition*. He was later exposed as a GPU agent, a fact unknown to us at that time. Healy pounced upon this information as proof that I, too, had engaged in conscious complicity with Stalin's secret police and afterwards kept silent about it. And that is the sole item of "evidence" he brings forth against me.

What are the facts in the matter? It happens that I never met Zborowski, and had nothing directly to do with his transit to the United States, although under the prevailing circumstances, that would have been commendable. These arrangements were handled through Lola Dallin, a Russian friend of Zborowski and the Trotskys.

This has not kept Healy's faceless International Committee from repeating—I quote from the *Bulletin* October 15—"Zborowski had been brought into the United States by Novack."

That same article features a photo of Ignace Reiss, the ex-Soviet intelligence agent who, after denouncing the purges and coming over to the Fourth International, was murdered by Stalin's gunmen in Switzerland. What Healy fails to say—and probably doesn't know—is that in 1940-41 I was busy saving the lives of other targets of the GPU. Among them were the widow and son of Ignace Reiss, whom I met at the pier and escorted to safe lodging in Manhattan. Wasn't it an anomalous occupation for an alleged accomplice of the GPU to spend months and years shielding and saving intended victims from their deadly clutches?

The November 27 *News Line* carries a four-page piece under the heading: "George Novack: A case of falsifying history" which accuses me—for sinister reasons—of suppressing what it calls "the most interesting information of all" in an obituary I wrote of Sara (Weber) Jacobs, "namely that she was the sister of Lola Estrine (Mrs. David Dallin)" who had brought Zborowski to the United States. One simple fact shatters this concoction. Sara Weber was *not* the sister of Lola Estrine [laughter]; she was a friend of hers, as both were of the Trotsky family.

Joe Hansen and others have demonstrated that the rest of the materials out of which Healy has fabricated his Big Lie crumble to pieces when confronted with the simplest authentic facts. The slanders first directed against us must be firmly resisted because they have since spread like an evil stain. They have broadened to embrace anyone who has raised a voice against the frame-up, whatever their views and affiliations.

For instance, the September 17, 1976, *Bulletin*, the organ of Healy's American echoers, reports a speech given by Jean Brust in Minneapolis five days earlier that refers to what she calls "the support of renegades from the revolutionary movement around the world." There she says: "Hansen rallies the very same forces around him today who defended the Moscow Trial and Stalin yesterday."

All the signatories of the statement in our defense, including Trotsky's grandson, five former secretaries and guards, the executor of Natalia Trotsky's estate, and the people represented on this platform, are well known for their stands against the crimes of Stalin. Now they are identified as defenders of Stalin! And ourselves as accomplices. They have been condemned as tools of Hansen and Novack because they refuse to be the dupes of Healy. This expanded defamation demonstrates how one lie leads to others, still more reckless of facts and logic alike. No honest person is exempt from the mudslinging, as the two ex-leaders of his American group, Tim Wohlforth and Nancy Fields, who were falsely accused of hiding ties with the CIA, can testify. And Tim has done so this evening.

While Healy has been transforming us into imaginary accomplices of the Stalinists, the SWP has undertaken a sustained

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offensive against real agents of the FBI, CIA, and other government departments that have long been harassing our movement. The exposures arising from our \$40 million suit have reverberated throughout the country and have had unprecedented results. The FBI has been ordered to end its surveillance of our activities, and its informers have been instructed to quit the party forthwith. Our attorneys are now in court demanding their names and unexpurgated files.

Washington officials have been greatly disconcerted by these embarrassing exposures of the illegalities of their political police as a continuation of Watergate. And they are not the only ones. The Communist party leader, Gus Hall, has stated that "the SWP is the main staging area of the FBI in the left movement" simply because we've forced the FBI to divulge the presence of sixty informers in our ranks. And Healy points to the informers planted by the FBI to smear our party just as Gus Hall does. That is a real alignment with the Stalinists!

There may be some friends of the Workers Revolutionary party here who either credit what Healy says, or are reluctant to believe that he would level such unscrupulous accusations against his opponents. Have you not sometimes wondered how credulous followers of Moscow and Peking can blindly accept everything they are told by their leaderships? Haven't you asked: How could a person of ordinary intelligence be taken in by such manifest slanders against the Trotskyists?

Shouldn't you apply the same criteria of critical intelligence to Healy's factionally motivated campaign that you recommend to them? Ask yourself this question: Why should the SWP leaders have placed themselves at the service of the Stalinist scoundrels and betrayers of the Russian and world revolutions whom they had fought untiringly and publicly since 1928, when they had nothing to gain and everything to lose by leading two contradictory lives and violating their whole past? The wildest political accusations should at least contain a grain of sense. Healy's trumped-up charges lack even the semblance of plausibility.

On the other hand, Healy and his entourage have compelling reasons for proceeding against us, as you previously heard. In addition to personal spitefulness and vengefulness, which are anathema to Marxist politics, coupled with an ultrafactional attitude towards his erstwhile cothinkers and everyone else, the panic provoked by the defections and disarray in their own forces, and the growth of the Fourth International in Britain, impels Healy and his entourage to turn their backs on their own members to any ideas and arguments coming from working-class critics of their own

policies and methods. The very existence of the Socialist Workers party, which Healy used to hold up as an example of what a democratic and principled Trotskyist organization can be—before the American angel turned into a spawn of the devil—stands as a constant reproach to his conduct.

The issues posed by this case transcend the reputations of the SWP leaders who are involved, and even the honor of Trotsky and Leon Sedov. The traditions and integrity of the Fourth International, as the banner-bearer of revolutionary Marxism in our time, and, beyond that, the fundamental interests of the entire working-class movement for liberation, are threatened and damaged by frame-up practices of this kind. The struggle for workers democracy and socialism to which we have dedicated our lives, requires a clean atmosphere, purified of all falsifications from any quarter, so that the masses can arrive at the truth and shape their destiny through an open and honest confrontation of views on all questions.

That is the common premise on which all of us stand in opposition to the Healyite peddlers of the lie [applause].

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